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Translation of Deng Xiaoping's 9 June Speech
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[“Unofficial translation” of “a document containing the speech delivered by Deng Xiaoping on June 9 at the martial law headquarters”—“copy of the document” obtained by the SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST “from Beijing”]

[Text] I would like to take this opportunity to say a few words.

This storm was bound to come sooner or later. This is determined by the major international climate and China's own minor climate.

It was bound to happen, and it could not be changed by the wishes of the people. It was just a matter of time and scale. We are fortunate that it has come about now, mainly because we have a large group of senior comrades who are still alive. They have experienced many storms and they know the causes and effects of things.

They support the use of resolute action to counter the turmoil. Although some comrades may not understand this now, they will understand eventually and will support the decision of the Central Committee.

The April 26 editorial of the PEOPLE'S DAILY classified the problem (of the student demonstrations) as turmoil. (Comrade Li Peng adds, “This is a planned conspiracy, a turmoil whose real intention is fundamentally to negate the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and to negate the socialist order.”) The word “turmoil” is appropriate, though some people object to the word. What has happened shows that this verdict was right. It was also inevitable that this phenomenon would develop into a counter-revolutionary riot.

We still have a group of senior comrades who are alive; we still have the Army; and we also have a group of core cadres who took part in the revolution at various times. That is why it is relatively easy for us to handle (the rebellion) now that it has come about.

The main problem in handling this (rebellion) has been that we've never experienced such a situation before, where a small minority of bad people mixed with so many young students and onlookers. We did not have a clear picture of the situation, so we could react appropriately.

If we hadn't had the support of so many senior comrades, it would have been difficult to understand the situation.

Some comrades don't understand the situation. They think it is simply a question of how to treat the masses. In actual fact, what we face is not just a question of ordinary people who are misguided; we also face a rebellious clique and a large quantity of the residues of society. The heart of the matter is that they want to topple our country and overthrow our party. Failing to understand this means failing to understand the nature (of the rebellion). I believe that after serious work, we can win the support of the great majority of comrades within the party concerning the nature (of the rebellion) and its handling.

Now that this thing has erupted, its nature has become very clear. They (counter-revolutionary rebels) have two main slogans: to topple the Chinese Communist Party [CCP] and to overthrow the socialist order. Their goal is to establish a totally Westernised bourgeois republic. Of course we accept that people want to combat corruption. We are even prepared to listen when people with ulterior motives use slogans about fighting corruption. Of course, these slogans are just a front: Their real aim is to topple the CCP and overthrow the socialist order.

In the course of quelling this rebellion, many comrades were injured or even sacrificed their lives. Their weapons were also taken from them. Why? Because bad people mingled with the good, which made it difficult to deal with the trouble makers

Handling this matter amounted to a severe political test for our Army, and what happened shows that our People's Liberation Army [PLA] passed muster. If we had used tanks to roll across (the rebels), this would have created a confusion of fact and fiction across the nation. That is why I have to thank the PLA officers for using this approach to handle the rebellion.

Even though the loss is considerable, this has enabled us to win over the people, so that people who can't tell right from wrong can change their viewpoint. They can see for themselves what kind of people are the PLA, whether there was bloodshed at Tiananmen, and who were the people who shed blood.

Once this is cleared up, we can seize the initiative. Although it is very saddening to sacrifice so many comrades, if this matter is analysed objectively, people cannot but recognise that the PLA are the sons and brothers of the people. This will also help people to understand what measures we used in the course of the struggle. In the future, whatever problem the PLA faces and whatever measures it takes, it will have the support of the people.

I would like to add that in future we can't let people take away our weapons. All in all, this was a test, and we passed. Even though there are not so many senior comrades in the Army, and the soldiers are mostly little more than 18, 19 or 20 years of age, they are still bona fide soldiers of the people. In the face of danger, they did

not forget the people, the teachings of the party, or the interests of the nation. They were resolute in the face of death. It's not an exaggeration to say that they met death and sacrificed themselves with generosity and without fear. When I talked about passing muster, I was referring to the fact that the Army is still the people's Army and maintains its quality.

This Army retains the traditions of the old Red Army. What they crossed was a political barrier, a threshold of life and death. This shows that the people's Army is truly a great wall of iron and steel of the party and country. This shows that no matter how heavy our losses, and in spite of the change of generations, this Army of ours is forever an army under the leadership of the party, forever the defender of the country, forever the defender of socialism, forever the defender of the public interest; they are the most lovely people. At the same time, we should never forget how cruel our enemies are. For them we should not have one iota of forgiveness.

It is worth focusing on the outbreak of rebellion. It prompts us cool-headedly to consider the past and the future. Perhaps this bad thing will enable us to go ahead with reform and the open-door policy with a more steady and better—even a faster—pace. It enables us more speedily to correct our mistakes, and better to develop our strong points. Today, I cannot elaborate. I only want to raise a point.

The first question is: Are the line, goals and policies laid down by the 3d Plenum of the 11th Central Committee (of November 1978), including our "three-step" development strategy, correct? Is it the case that because this rebellion has taken place, the line, goals and policies we laid down have run into problems? Are our goals "leftist"? Should we continue to use them for our struggle in the future? We must have clear, definite answers to these important questions. We have already accomplished our first goal of doubling (the GNP). We plan to use 12 years to attain our second goal of doubling (the GNP). In the next 50 years, we hope to reach the level of a moderately developed nation. A two percent annual growth rate is sufficient. This is our strategic goal.

Concerning this, I think that what we have arrived at is not a "leftist" judgement. Nor have we laid down an overly ambitious goal. That is why, in answering the first question, we cannot say that, at least up to now, we have failed in the strategic goals we laid down. After 61 years, a country with 1.5 billion people will have reached the level of a moderately developed nation. This is an unbeatable achievement. We should be able to realize this goal. It cannot be said that our strategic goal is wrong because of the occurrence of this matter (rebellion).

The second question is: Is the general conclusion of the 13th Party Congress of "one centre, two basic points" correct? Are the two basic points—upholding the four cardinal principles and persisting in the open policy and reforms—wrong?

In recent days, I have pondered these two points. No, we haven't been wrong. There's nothing wrong with the four cardinal principles. If there is anything amiss, it's that these principles haven't been thoroughly implemented; they haven't been used as the basic concept to educate the people, educate the students and educate all the cadres and communist members.

The crux of the current incident is basically the confrontation between the four cardinal principles and bourgeois liberalization. It isn't that we have not talked about such things as the four cardinal principles, work on political concepts, opposition to bourgeois liberalization and opposition to spiritual pollution. What we haven't done is that there is no continuity in these talks, that there has been no action or even that there has hardly been any talk.

What is wrong does not lie in the four cardinal principles themselves, but in wavering in upholding these principles, and in the very poor work in persisting with political work and education.

In my Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference talk on New Year's Day 1980, I talked about "four guarantees", one of which was the "enterprising spirit in hard struggle and plain (frugal) living". Promoting plain living must be a main objective in education and this should be grasped in the next 60 to 70 years. The more prosperous our country becomes, the more important it is to grasp the enterprising spirit. Promoting the enterprising spirit and plain living will also be helpful towards overcoming decay.

After the People's Republic was founded, we promoted plain living. Later on, when life became a little better, we promoted spending more, leading to wastage everywhere. This, in addition to lapses in theoretical work and an incomplete legal system, resulted in breaches of the law and decay.

I (once) told foreigners that our worst omission of the past 10 years was in education. What I meant was political education, and this doesn't apply to schools and students alone, but to the masses as a whole. And we have not said much about plain living and enterprising spirit, about what a country China is and how it is going to turn out. This is our biggest omission.

Is there anything wrong in the basic concept of reforms and openness? No. Without reforms and openness, how could we have what we have today? There has been a fairly good rise in the standard of living and it may be said that we have moved one stage further. The positive results of 10 years of reforms must be properly assessed even though there emerged such questions as inflation. Naturally, in reforms and adopting the open policy, we run the risk of importing evil influences from the West and we have never underestimated such influences.

In the early 1980s when we established special economic zones, I told our Guangdong comrades that they should conduct a two-pronged policy: on the one hand, they should persevere with reforms and openness, and on the other they should severely deal with economic crimes.

Looking back, it appeared that there were obvious inadequacies; there hasn't been proper co-ordination. Being reminded of these inadequacies would help us formulate future policies. Further, we must persist in the co-ordination between a planned economy and a market economy. There cannot be any change in this policy.

In the course of implementing this policy, we can place more emphasis on planning in the adjustment period. At other times, there can be a little more market adjustment so as to allow more flexibility. The future policy should still be a marriage of planned economy and market economy.

What is important is that we should never change China into a closed country. In the 150 years since the Opium War, China has always been practising the policy of a closed country. Such a policy is most detrimental to us. There is not even a good flow of information. Nowadays, are we not talking about the importance of information? Certainly, it is important. If one who is involved in management doesn't possess information, he is no better than a man whose nose is blocked and whose ears and eyes are shut.

Again, we should never go back to the old days of trampling the economy to death. I put forward this proposal for the consideration of the Standing Committee. This is also an urgent problem, a problem we'll have to deal with sooner or later.

In short, this is what we have achieved in the past decade. Generally, our basic proposals, ranging from developing a strategy to policies, including reforms and openness, are correct. If there is any inadequacy to talk about, then I should say our reforms and openness have not proceeded adequately enough.

The problems we face in implementing reforms are far greater than those we encounter in opening our country. In political reforms, we can affirm one point: We have to insist on implementing the system of the National People's Congress and not the American system of the separation of three powers (of the executive, legislature and judiciary). America has criticised us for suppressing students. In the 1950s, the (American) Government sent an airborne unit to occupy a school where disturbances broke out. In the 1960s and 1970s, there were many student movements and turmoils in the United States. Did they have any other recourse but to mobilise police and troops, arrest people and shed blood? They were suppressing students and the people, but we are quelling

counter-revolutionary riots. What qualification do they have to criticise us! From now on, however, we should pay attention to such problems. We should never allow them to spread.

What do we do from now on? I would say that we should continue, persist in implementing our planned basic line, direction and policy. Except where there is a need to alter a word or phrase here and there, there should be no change to the basic line and basic policy. Now that I have raised this question, I would like you all to consider it thoroughly.

As to how to implement these policies, such as in the areas of investment, the manipulation of capital, etc., I am in favour of putting the emphasis on capital construction and agriculture. In capital construction, this calls for attention to the supply of raw materials, transportation and energy; there should be more investment in this area and this should go on for 10 to 20 years, even if it involves heavy debts.

In a way, this is also openness. Here, we need to be bold and there are hardly any serious mistakes. We should work for more electricity, work for more railway lines, public roads, shipping. There's a lot we could do. As for steel, foreigners judge we'll need some 120 million tonnes in future. We are now using some 60 million tonnes, half way to go. If we were to improve our existing facilities and increase production by 20 million tonnes, we could reduce the amount of steel we need to import. Obtaining foreign loans to improve this area is also an aspect of reform and openness. The question now confronting us is not whether the policies of opening up and reforming are correct or not and whether we should continue with these policies. The question is how to carry out these policies, where do we go and which areas should we concentrate on?

We have resolutely to implement the series of policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee (of November 1978). We should conscientiously sum up our experiences, persevere with what is correct, correct what is wrong, and do a bit more where we have lag behind.

In all, we should sum up the experiences of the present and look forward to the future.

Speech Widely Studied

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["Local Broadcast News Service"—"Party Committees of Some Provinces, Autonomous Regions, Municipalities Hold Enlarged Meetings of Their Standing Committees and Meetings of Responsible Persons of Organs at the Provincial Level To Seriously Study Deng Xiaoping's Speech"]

[Text] Beijing, 19 Jun (XINHUA)—Over the past few days party committees of some provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities called an enlarged meeting of their